





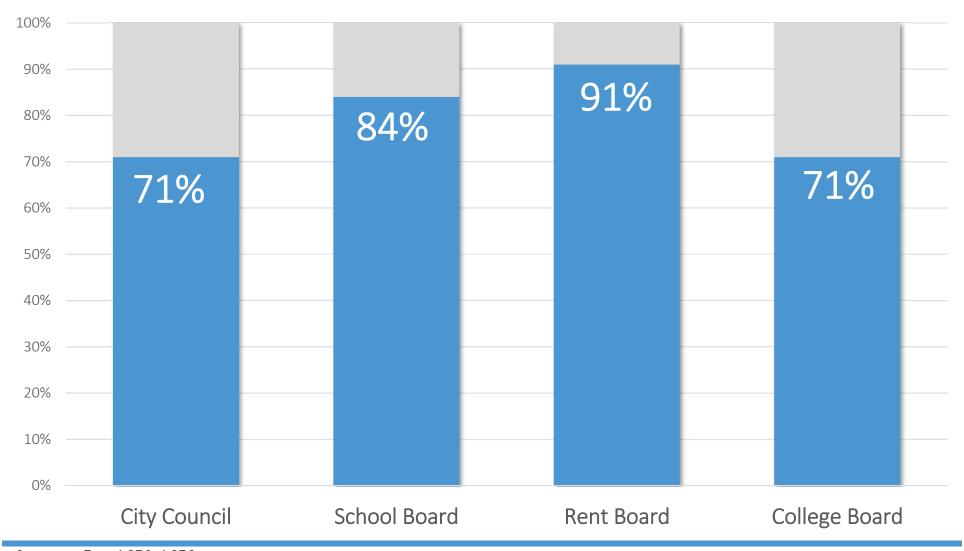
City of Santa Monica's Opening Statement

August 1, 2018

Santa Monica

- Santa Monica is a small, progressive, inclusive city.
- Latino citizen voting age population = 13.6%.
- Latino voters have achieved great success in electing their preferred candidates, both Latino and non-Latino.

Success of Latino-Preferred Candidates, 2002-2016



Sources: Exs. 1652-1653

Some of Santa Monica's Successful *Latino-Preferred*Candidates



Tony Vazquez
City Council



Gleam Davis, Esq. City Council



Terry O'Day City Council



Kevin McKeown City Council



Dr. Jose EscarceSchool Board



Maria Leon-Vazquez
School Board



Dr. Margaret Quinones-Perez College Board



Oscar de la Torre School Board

Sources: Exs. 1652-1653

Successful Latino-Preferred Candidates Include Candidates Of *Latino Heritage*



Tony Vazquez
City Council



Gleam Davis, Esq.
City Council



Steve Duron, Esq. Rent Control Board



Margaret Franco
School Board



Dr. Jose EscarceSchool Board



Maria Leon-Vazquez
School Board



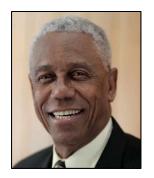
Dr. Margaret Quinones-Perez College Board



Oscar de la Torre School Board

Sources: Exs. 1652-1653

... And Santa Monica Has Elected Members Of Other Minority Groups



Nat Trives City Council



Hilliard Lawson
City Council



Asha Greenberg, Esq. City Council



Dr. Dorothy
Ehrhart-Morrison
College Board



Dr. Alfred QuinnCollege Board



Nimish Patel, Esq. School Board



Barry Snell, CPA
College Board



Brenda Gottfried, Esq.
School Board



M. Douglass Willis
Rent Control Board



Lacy Goode School Board

Santa Monica's City Council

- 7 Council members
- Elected at-large
 - All voters in the city elect all council members
 - 4 council members elected in presidential years,
 3 elected in gubernatorial years
 - Each voter casts 3 or 4 votes depending on number of seats at issue
 - 3 or 4 candidates with highest numbers of votes win
 - Mayor elected by City Council every 2 years

- Three-time city council winner – first in 1990
- Former Mayor
- Latino-Preferred
 Candidate
- Latino



Tony Vazquez
Former Mayor



am O'Connor

Sue Himmelrich

evin McK

- With Mr. Vazquez, 1 out of 7 of the City Council (14.3%) is Latino
- Santa Monica's Latino CVAP = 13.6%



Tony VazquezFormer Mayor

14.3% > 13.6%



Ted Wintere



Gleam Davis, Esq. Mayor Pro Tem

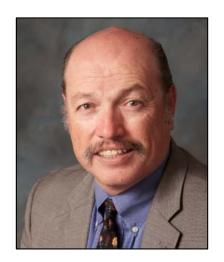
- Mayor Pro Tem
- Latino-preferred candidate
- Father is Latino
- Adopted by non-Latino parents

Pam O'Connor

Sue Himmelrich

Kevin McKeown

- With Mr. Vazquez and Ms. Davis, <u>2</u> out of 7 (28.6%)
 of the City Council are Latino
- Santa Monica's Latino CVAP = 13.6%



Tony VazquezFormer Mayor



Gleam Davis, Esq. Mayor Pro Tem

28.6% > 13.6%

Why Are We Here?

- Plaintiffs claim the City's at-large election system is preventing Latinos from electing their preferred candidates.
- Plaintiffs claim the City's at-large election system was adopted and maintained for the purpose of discriminating against Latinos in their efforts to elect their preferred candidates.

What Plaintiffs Are Asking From The Court



- Throw away the democratic process in Santa Monica adopted by voters in 1914
- Impose an alternative method of election that Santa Monica voters have twice rejected (1975, 2002)

Plaintiff's Claims:

- 1. California Voting Rights Act Claim
- 2. Equal Protection Claim

Plaintiff's Claims:

1. California Voting Rights Act Claim

2. Equal Protection Claim

Legal Elements of CVRA Claim

- ✓ Racially Polarized Voting
- ✓ Vote Dilution
- ✓ Other Factors

Section 14026(e): Definition of Racially Polarized Voting

"'Racially polarized voting' means voting in which there is a difference, as defined in case law regarding enforcement of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965, in the choice of candidates or other electoral choices that are preferred by voters in a protected class, and in the choice of candidates that are preferred by voters in the rest of the electorate."

Racially Polarized Voting: Federal Case Law

Gingles Factors

- (2) Latinos vote cohesively (minority cohesion)
- (3) Non-Hispanic whites vote "sufficiently as a bloc to enable [them] in the absence of special circumstances usually to defeat the minority's preferred candidate"

Section 14027: Vote Dilution



Elec. Code § 14027: "An at-large method of election may not be imposed or applied in a manner that **impairs** the ability of a protected class to elect candidates of its choice or its ability to influence the outcome of an election, as a result of the dilution or abridgement of the rights of voters who are members of a protected class, as defined pursuant to Section 14026."

Vote Dilution – Requires an Alternative System In Which Latino Voters Would Do Better

"Unless minority voters possess the **potential** to elect representatives in the absence of the challenged structure or practice, they **cannot claim to have been injured** by that structure or practice."

Is Vote Dilution Required?



Section 14028(a): "A violation of Section 14027 is established if it is shown that racially polarized voting occurs in elections for members of the governing body of the political subdivision or in elections incorporating other electoral choices by the voters of the political subdivision."

Plaintiffs: CVRA requires nothing more than racially polarized voting

City: This section does not alter CVRA's requirement that vote dilution be shown

- If there were racially polarized voting without dilution of Latino votes, there would be no harm to address
- The CVRA's purpose is not to end racially polarized voting; it is instead to provide relief from the harm it can cause; namely, dilution

Vote Dilution Is Relevant To CVRA Remedies

"The fact that members of a protected class are not geographically compact or concentrated may not preclude a finding of racially polarized voting, or a violation of Section 14027 and this section, but may be a factor in determining an appropriate remedy." (Elec. Code § 14028(c))

"[E]ven under the California Voting Rights Act, geographical compactness remains a consideration in developing a remedy." *Jauregui v. City of Palmdale* (2014) 226 Cal. App. 4th 781, 789.

"There is no doubt that any district-based remedy the trial court might impose using race as a factor in drawing district lines would be subject to analysis under the *Shaw–Vera* line of cases. In reviewing a district-based remedy, it would be necessary to determine whether race was the predominant factor used in drawing the district lines. If it was, the plan would be subject to strict scrutiny." *Sanchez v. City of Modesto* (2006) 145 Cal. App. 4th 660, 688

Vote Dilution Is Also Relevant To The Equal Protection Claim

Three elements:

- (1) discriminatory intent;
- (2) causation; and
- (3) disparate impact

In a voting rights case, disparate impact is proven through evidence of vote dilution resulting from the current method of election, that is, evidence that a protected class would have greater electoral opportunity given the adoption of some other method of election

Why Plaintiffs Cannot Prevail

Plaintiffs cannot prove *racially polarized voting*

- They misconstrue the legal standards
- They lose even under their own misconstrued standard

Plaintiffs cannot prove vote dilution

- Districts will not enhance Latino voting power
- There is no alternative system that will enhance Latino voting power

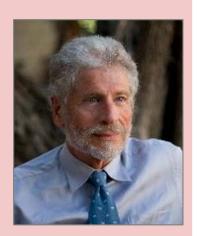
There is no available remedy

 In the absence of vote dilution, imposition of districts would amount to racial gerrymandering without a compelling state interest

Legal Elements of CVRA Claim

- ✓ Racially Polarized Voting
- ✓ Vote Dilution
- ✓ Other Factors

Dr. Kousser's Analysis Shows Why The City Wins



Dr. Kousser

Background	Social Science Historian		
Focus	Latino-surnamed candidates		
Elections Analyzed	Cherry-picks 10 Latino- surnamed candidacies in City Council elections alone		
Conclusion	His own data shows there is no legally significant racially polarized voting		

One problem with Kousser's Analysis: CVRA's Focus Is On Preference Of Latino *Voters*, Not the Ethnicity of *Candidates*

"Racially polarized voting' means voting in which there is a difference, as defined in case law regarding enforcement of the [FVRA], in **the choice of candidates or other electoral choices** that are **preferred by voters in a protected class**, and in the choice of candidates and electoral choices that are preferred by voters in the rest of the electorate." (Elec. Code § 14026(e))

"In multiseat at-large election districts, where the number of candidates who are members of a protected class is fewer than the number of seats available, the **relative groupwide support** received by candidates **from members of a protected class** shall be the basis for the racial polarization analysis." (Elec. Code § 14028(b))

Ethnicity of the **Candidate** May be Relevant Only if that Candidate is Also Preferred by Latino Voters

"One circumstance that may be considered in determining a violation of Section 14027 and this section [14028] is the extent to which candidates who are members of a protected class <u>and</u> who are preferred by voters of the protected class, as determined by an analysis of voting behavior, have been elected to the governing body of a political subdivision that is the subject of an action based on Section 14027 and this section." (Elec. Code § 14028(b))

Second problem with Kousser's Analysis: CVRA Permits Consideration of Both Endogenous and Exogenous Elections

- "A violation of Section 14027 is established if it is shown that racially polarized voting occurs in elections for members of the governing body of the political subdivision or in elections incorporating other electoral choices by the voters of the political subdivision." (Elec. Code § 14028(a))
- "Endogenous" and "Exogenous" elections are relevant.
 (07/19/18 Ruling on Plaintiffs' Motion in Limine)
- Any election that demonstrates Latino voters' ability to elect candidates of their choice is relevant.

Plaintiffs Use the Wrong Test

Latino-Proferred
Cand dates

Latino-Surnamed Candidates

VS.

Exogenors and Endogenars Elections

Only Endogenous Elections

What Are Ecological Regression and Ecological Inference?

 Methods of estimating individual voter behavior using aggregate group data



- Problems in applying these methods here:
 - Error, bias, uncertainty in surname matching
 - Error, bias, uncertainty in differentiating African-American and NHW voters
 - Santa Monica's relatively heterogeneous precincts

Ecological Regression and Ecological Inference

- No material differences in the estimates of voter behavior by the parties' respective experts
- The key differences are:
 - Which elections are analyzed
 - Which candidates are analyzed

Dr. Kousser's Weighted Ecological Regression Analysis

Year	Candidate	% Latinos for	% Non- Hispanic Whites for	Statistically Significant Difference?	Lost?
1994	Vazquez	145.5 (28.0)	34.9 (1.9)	Yes	Yes
1996	Alvarez	22.2 (12.9)	15.8 (1.1)	No	
2002	Aranda	82.6 (12.6)	10.6 (17.2)	Yes	Yes
2004	Loya	106.0 (12.3)	21.2 (2.0)	Yes	Yes
2008	Piera-Avila	33.3 (5.2)	5.7 (0.8)	Yes	Yes
2012	Vazquez	92.7 (9.0)	19.1 (2.0)	Yes	No
2012	Gomez	30.4 (3.3)	2.9 (0.7)	Yes	Yes
2012	Duron	5.0 (2.6)	4.4 (0.6)	No	
2016	Vazquez	78.3 (9.0)	36.6 (2.3)	Yes	No
2016	de la Torre	88.0 (6.0)	12.9 (1.5)	Yes	Yes

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Source: Ex. 1206 at p. 42

2012: Robert Gomez Is Not a Latino-Preferred Candidate



Dr. Kousser

"In this election -- in this particular election, Mr. Gomez does not fall within the top four Latino candidates and **so he is not preferred**."

(Depo Tr. at p. 142:15-23)

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B. Weighted Regression				Candidate	Latino	Asian	Est. Black	Est. Non- Hispanic	Actual %
Candidate	Latino	Asian	Est. Bla					White	
Ted Winterer	56.7 (14.9)	-16.0 (53.3)	-4.7 (18.2	Ted Winterer	56.7 (14.9)	-16.0 (53.3)	-4.7 (18.2)	40.9 (3.3)	36.9
Terry O'Day	63.9 (8.0)	-32.8 (28.8)	36.0 (9.8	Terry O'Day	63.9 (8.0)	-32.8 (28.8)	36.0 (9.8)	37.3 (1.8)	35.7
Gleam Davis	50.2 (8.2)	-19.6 (29.3)	36.3 (10.		The same of the sa				
Tony Vazquez	92.7 (9.0)	23.9 (32.2)	7.1 (11.0	Gleam Davis	50.2 (8.2)	-19.6 (29.3)	36.3 (10.0)	32.9 (1.8)	31.7
Shari Davis	1.6 (12.3)	57.2 (44.1)	11.3 (15.	Tony Vazquez	92.7 (9.0)	23.9 (32.2)	7.1 (11.0)	19.1 (2.0)	24.9
Richard McKinnon	5.0 (9.6)	41.4 (34.6)	4.2 (11.8					-	22.6
John Cyrus Smith	8.7 (4.8)	78.9 (17.2)	11.6 (5.9	Shari Davis	1.0 (12.3)	57.2 (44.1)	11.3 (15.0)	23.2 (2.7)	-
Frank Gruber Jonathan Mann	15.1 (11.2)	55.9 (40.0) -0.4 (16.2)	-18.3 (13 15.8 (5.5	Richard McKinnon	5.0 (9.6)	41.4 (34.6)	4.2 (11.8)	17.1 (2.1)	16.7
Bob Seldon	-11.0 (7.5)	96.3 (26.7)	7.0 (9.1)	John Cyrus Smith	8.7 (4.8)	78.9 (17.2)	11.6 (5.9)	10.2 (1.1)	14.0
Armen Melkonians	-0.6 (4.0)	25.8 (14.2)	18.8 (4.9						-
Terence Later	-0.5 (5.6)	7.2 (20.2)	10.0 (6.9	Frank Gruber	15.1 (11.2)	55.9 (40.0)	-18.3 (13.6)	11.7 (2.4)	12.9
Jerry Rubin	9.5 (3.4)	-15.5 (12.3)	11.1 (4.2	Jonathan Mann	19.8 (4.5)	-0.4 (16.2)	15.8 (5.5)	10.2 (1.0)	10.7
Robert Gomez	30.4 (3.3)	14.7 (11.8)	8.2 (4.0) 5.0 (3.2)	Bob Seldon	-11.0 (7.5)	96.3 (26.7)	7.0 (9.1)	5.4 (1.6)	8.9
Steve Doron No Vote	5.0 (2.6)	66.2 (126.9)	240.4 (4)						
Av. # of Candidates	3.5	3.3	1.6	Armen Melkonians	-0.6 (4.0)	25.8 (14.2)	18.8 (4.9)	7.4 (0.9)	8.3
Voted For**	7.550			Terence Later	-0.5 (5.6)	7.2 (20.2)	10.0 (6.9)	8.6 (1.2)	7.8
Total Actual	8.3	5.3	4.9	Jerry Rubin	9.5 (2.4)	-15.5 (12.3)	11.1 (4.2)	7.2 (0.8)	6.4
4 winners		2015		Robert Gomez	30.4 (3.3)	14.7 (11.8)	8.2 (4.0)	2.9 (0.7)	6.1
N= 54 Ethnic percentages based on turnout at 2012 election. Cand based on number of mail or in person ballots. Weights based on num				Steve Doron	5.0 (2.0)	16.8 (9.4)	5.0 (3.2)	4.4 (0.6)	5.1
person ballots.				No Vote	53.6 (35.4)	66.2 (126.9)	240.4 (43.2)	161.5 (7.8)	

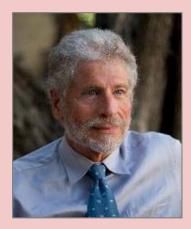
Dr. Kousser's Weighted Ecological Regression Analysis

Year	Candidate	% Latinos for	% Non- Hispanic Whites for	Statistically Significant Difference?	Lost?	Minority Preferred?
1994	Vazquez	145.5 (28.0)	34.9 (1.9)	Yes	Yes	Yes
1996	Alvarez	22.2 (12.9)	15.8 (1.1)	No		
2002	Aranda	82.6 (12.6)	10.6 (17.2)	Yes	Yes	Yes
2004	Loya	106.0 (12.3)	21.2 (2.0)	Yes	Yes	Yes
2008	Piera-Avila	33.3 (5.2)	5.7 (0.8)	Yes	Yes	Yes
2012	Vazquez	92.7 (9.0)	19.1 (2.0)	Yes	No	
2012	Gomez	30.4 (3.3)	2.9 (0.7)	Yes	Yes	No
2012	Duron	5.0 (2.6)	4.4 (0.6)	No		
2016	Vazquez	78.3 (9.0)	36.6 (2.3)	Yes	No	
2016	de la Torre	88.0 (6.0)	12.9 (1.5)	Yes	Yes	Yes

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Source: Ex. 1206 at p. 42v

1994: Tony Vazquez Is *Not* Defeated by Non-Hispanic White Bloc Voting



Dr. Kousser

"There is actually no statistically-significant difference between his vote and Holbrook's vote. So it's not possible to say whether the Latino -- I'm sorry — the non-Hispanic whites favored -- more non-Hispanic whites favored Vasquez than Holbrook." (Kousser Depo Tr. at p. 293:16-21)

	D W.:.	Land D	1994							
Candidate Bob Holbrook	Latino -108.9 (38.6)	Asi	Candidate	Latino	Asian	Est. Black	Est. Non- Hispanic	Actual %		
Pam O'Connor	113.2 (27.3)	-177	Bob Holbrook	-108.9 (38.6)	371.7 (70.7)	37.7 (20.6)	34.4 (2.6)	36.5		
Ruth Ebner	-103.5 (32.7)	323.	Pam O'Connor					Professional Asia, Asia		
Tony Vazquez	145.5 (28.0)	-209	Contract of the Contract of th	113.2 (27.3)	-177.9 (50.0)	5.6 (14.5)	40.1 (1.8)	36.3		
Bruria Finkel	122.4 (28.4)	-234	Ruth Ebner	-103.5 (32.7)	323.5 (60.0)	44.5 (17.4)	34.4 (2.2)	35.7		
Matthew P. Kann Bob Knonovet	-81.3 (30.8)	260.	Tony Vazquez	145.5 (28.0)	-209.4 (51.2)	19.2 (14.9)	34.9 (1.9)	33.2		
Ron Taylor	-6.4 (7.5) 51.3 (6.1)	50.8 -35.	Bruria Finkel	122.4 (28.4)	-234.8 (52.0)	5.1 (15.1)	37.6 (1.9)	33.0		
John Stevens	37.4 (5.6)	9.8 (Matthew P. Kann	-81.3 (30.8)	260.1 (56.4)	25.5 (16.4)				
Wallace Peoples	8.5 (6.7)	42.0					23.1 (2.1)	24.4		
Joe Sole	11.8 (3.9)	-2.7	Bob Knonovet	-6.4 (7.5)	50.8 (13.8)	5.4 (4.0)	8.7 (0.5)	8.9		
No Vote	109.8 (34.2)	-96.	Ron Taylor	51.3 (6.1)	-35.7 (11.2)	9.9 (3.2)	4.8 (0.4)	6.3		
Av. # of Candidates Voted For**	1.9	4.0	John Stevens	37.4 (5.6)	9.8 (10.3)	3.1 (3.0)	3.6 (0.4)	5.6		
% of Registration	5.6	2.9	Wallace Peoples	8.5 (6.7)	42.0 (12.3)	12.0 (3.6)	3.5 (0.5)	5.3		
 3 winners 			Joe Sole	11.8 (3.9)	-2.7 (7.2)	1.2 (2.1)	2.9 (0.3)	3.2		
V= 94 Ethnic percentages based on voter regis			No Vote	109.8 (34.2)	-96.7 (62.8)	130.8 (18.2)	72.0 (2.3)	5.4		
number of mail and in-person ballots. Weighted		ghted	Av. # of Candidates Voted For**	1.9	4.0	1.7	2.3	2.3		
			% of Registration	5.6	2.9	4.5	87.0			

Source: Ex. 1206 at p. 104

Dr. Kousser's Weighted Ecological Regression Analysis

Year	Candidate	% Latinos for	% Non- Hispanic Whites for	Statistically Significant Difference?	Lost?	Minority Preferred?	Defeated by White Voting Bloc
1994	Vazquez	145.5 (28.0)	34.9 (1.9)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
1996	Alvarez	22.2 (12.9)	15.8 (1.1)	No			
2002	Aranda	82.6 (12.6)	10.6 (17.2)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2004	Loya	106.0 (12.3)	21.2 (2.0)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2008	Piera-Avila	33.3 (5.2)	5.7 (0.8)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2012	Vazquez	92.7 (9.0)	19.1 (2.0)	Yes	No		
2012	Gomez	30.4 (3.3)	2.9 (0.7)	Yes	Yes	No	
2012	Duron	5.0 (2.6)	4.4 (0.6)	No			
2016	Vazquez	78.3 (9.0)	36.6 (2.3)	Yes	No		
2016	de la Torre	88.0 (6.0)	12.9 (1.5)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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Source: Ex. 1206 at p. 42

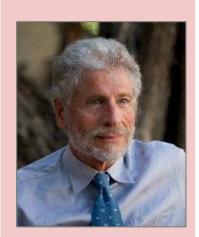
Dr. Kousser's Ecological Inference

Year	Candidate	% Latinos for	% Non- Hispanic Whites for	Statistically Significant Difference?	Lost?	Minority Preferred?	Defeated by White Voting Bloc
1994	Vazquez	13.1 (5.0)	14.4 (0.3)	No			
1996	Alvarez	13.1 (3.7)	7.0 (0.3)	No			
2002	Aranda	25.6 (4.9)	7.5 (0.4)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2004	Loya	23.9 (4.0)	6.6 (0.3)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2008	Piera-Avila	10.5 (2.8)	2.4 (0.3)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2012	Vazquez	22.0 (3.8)	8.9 (0.4)	Yes	No		
2012	Gomez	10.4 (2.2)	1.0 (0.3)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
2012	Duron	2.8 (1.2)	1.5 (0.3)	No			
2016	Vazquez	17.1 (4.5)	16.0 (0.5)	No			
2016	de la Torre	27.5 (4.4)	7.1 (0.6)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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Source: Ex. 1206 at p. 43

Dr. Kousser's Admissions



Dr. Kousser

- When taking into account whether NHW bloc voting enabled the defeat of the Latino-preferred candidate:
 - Dr. Kousser admits that his **ecological regression** analysis shows only **4 of 10** elections are racially polarized (Kousser Depo. at 303:3-17)
 - Dr. Kousser admits that his **ecological inference** analysis shows only **5 of 10 elections** are racially polarized

(Kousser Depo. at 303:18-304:6)

"Usually" = More Often than Not

"The *Gingles* Court, in using the terms 'usually,' 'normally,' and 'generally,' 'mean[t] something **more than just 51%.**"



Exogenous Elections (Even With Only Latino-Surnamed Candidacies)

School Board

- de la Torre (2002-W, 2006-W, 2010-W, 2014-W)
- Jara (2004-L)
- Leon-Vazquez (2004-W, 2008-W, 2012-W)
- Escarce (2004-W, 2008-W, 2012-W)

Rent Control Board

• Duron (2014-W)

College Board

- Quinones (2004-W, 2008-W, 2016-W)
- Loya (2014-L)

Totals:

- 16 Latino-surnamed candidacies
- 14 out of 16 win = 87.5%

Dr. Lewis Analysis Shows Why The City Wins



Dr. Lewis



Background	Statistician and political scientist		
Focus	Latino Voter Preferences		
Elections Analyzed	All candidates in all Santa Monica elections in 1994 and from 2002 to 2016		
Conclusion	Since 2002, 71% of Latinopreferred candidates have won Council seats, and 82% of Latinopreferred candidates have won seats on the other boards		

Sources: Exs. 1206, 1652-1653

Who is a Latino-Preferred Candidate?

Elec. Code 14026(e): Directs courts to "case law regarding enforcement of the [FVRA]" to define racially polarized voting, including "candidates or other electoral choices that are preferred by voters in a protected class"

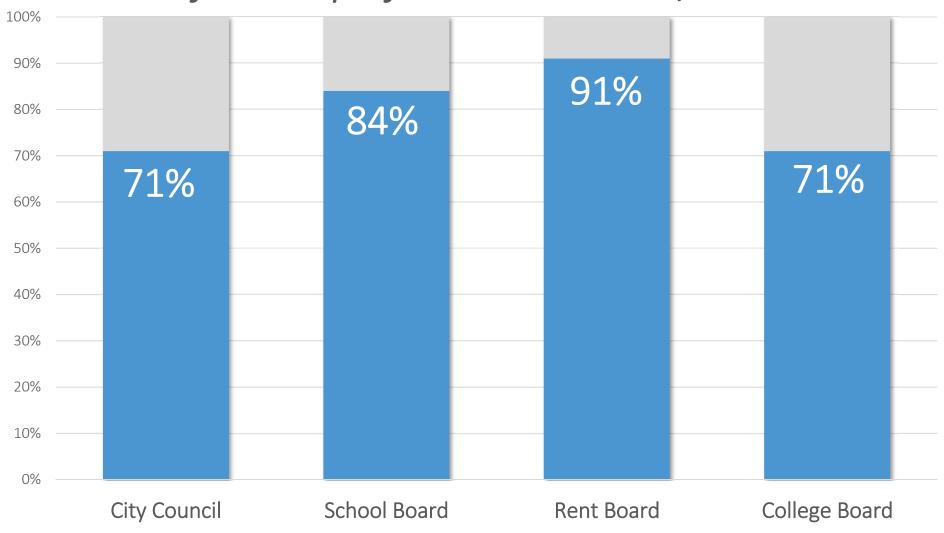
"We join our sister circuits in rejecting the position that the 'minority's preferred candidate' must be a member of the racial minority. To hold otherwise would, in the words of Judge Cabranes, provide judicial approval to 'electoral apartheid."

"[W]e hold that a candidate who receives sufficient votes to be elected if the election were held only among the minority group in question qualifies as minority-preferred."



Since 2002, Latino-Preferred Candidates Have Won 71% of Their Council Races and 82% of Other Races with 13.6% of the CVAP

Success of Latino-preferred candidates, 2002-2016



Sources: Exs. 1652-1653

Legal Elements of CVRA Claim

- ✓ Racially Polarized Voting
- ✓ Vote Dilution
- ✓ Other Factors

No CVRA Violation Without Vote Dilution



Justin Levitt

"there is **no legal responsibility** under the CVRA to move from an at-large system"

"[i]f an alternative system would not provide increased opportunity to elect a candidate of choice or influence the election of a candidate of choice."

The Analyses of Plaintiffs' Experts Ely and Levitt

- Plaintiffs' experts, David Ely and Justin Levitt, opine that some alternative system would enhance Latino voting strength.
- Their analyses show the opposite.



David Ely

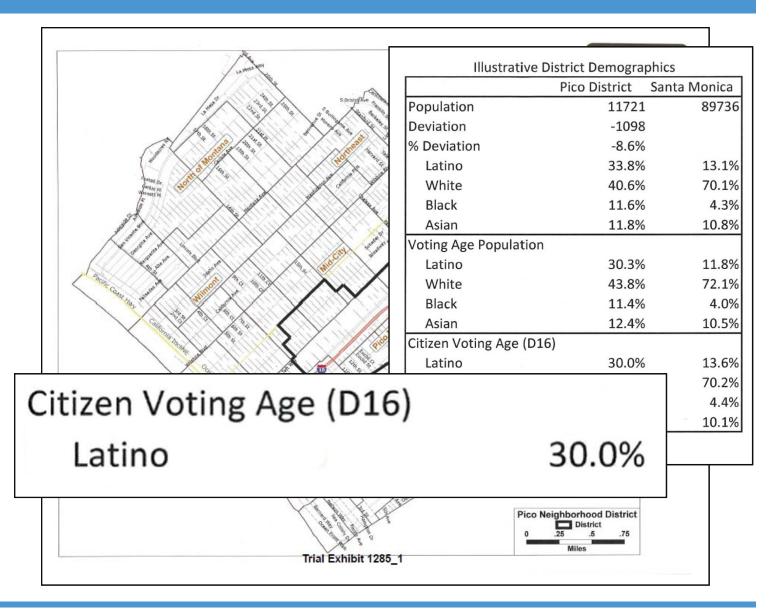


Justin Levitt

Parties' Experts Agree: Impossible in Santa Monica to Even Approach Anything Resembling Majority-Latino District



David Ely

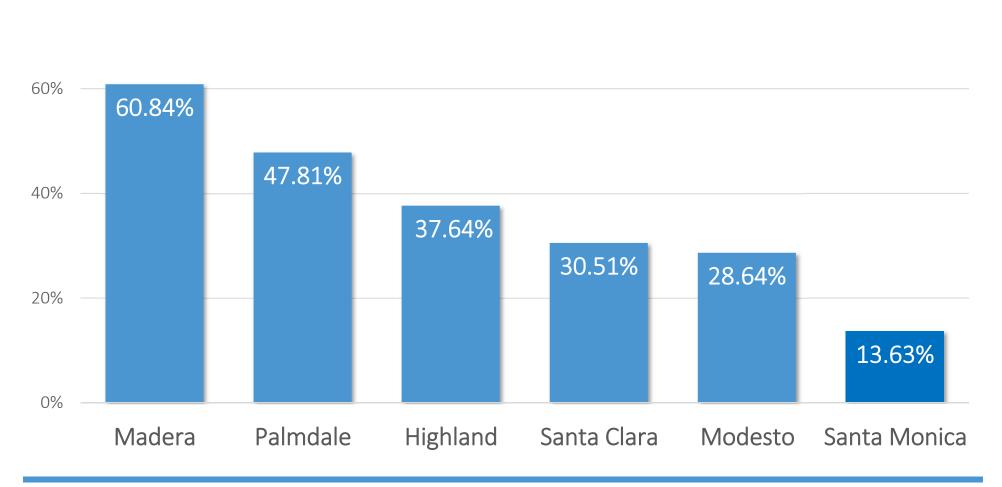


Santa Monica's Demographics: Different From Other Cities That Have Moved to Districts

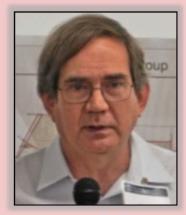
Relevant minority group's share of CVAP

(2016 5-year ACS data)

80%



Ely's Testimony



David Ely

- Draws a hypothetical district whose voting population is only 30% Latino.
- Cherry-picks only 3 of 22
 elections, and even those 3
 do not show dilution.

Ely's Testimony: 1994 Hypothetical District Election



David Ely

Says Tony Vazquez would have won an election in the hypothetical district in 1994, but *overlooks* these facts:

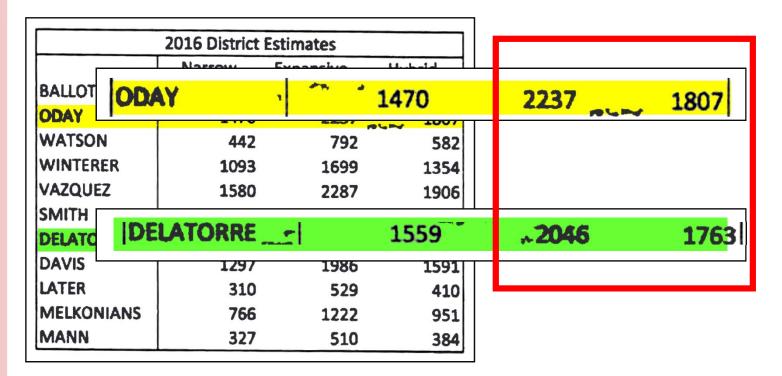
- Mr. Vazquez does not reside in the district and would not have been eligible to run
- Vazquez was elected at-large on three other occasions
- Ely wants to trade Vazquez' 3 actual city council victories for none

Ely's Testimony



David Ely

Analysis of 2016 election shows a white Latinopreferred candidate (O'Day) would have defeated plaintiff's purported Latino-preferred candidate (de la Torre) in two out of three scenarios



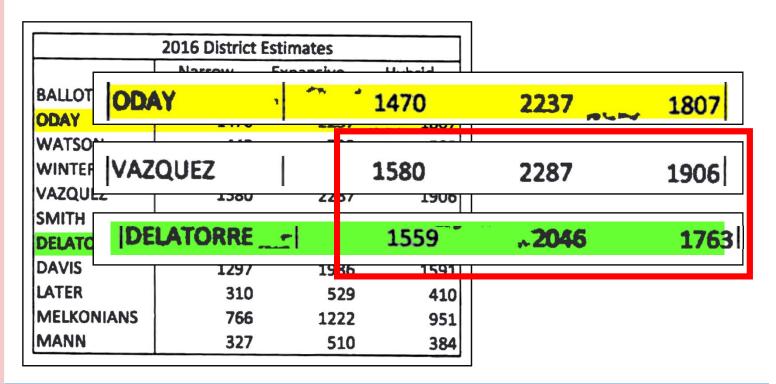
Source: Ex. 1209 at p. 216

Ely's Testimony



David Ely

Analysis of 2016 election also shows that Tony Vazquez (who did win) would have defeated plaintiff's purported Latino-preferred candidate (de la Torre) in all three scenarios



Source: Ex. 1209 at p. 216

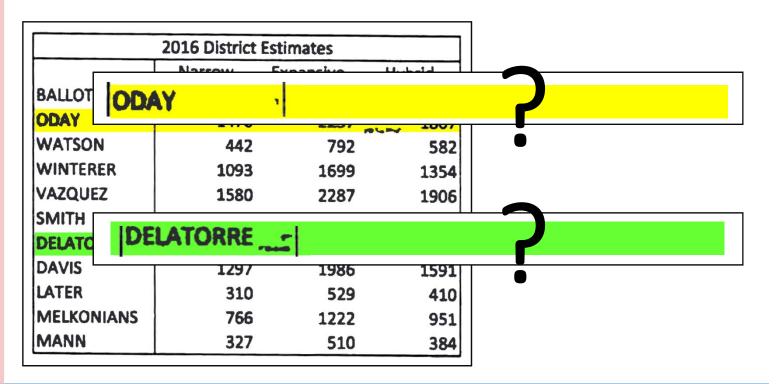
Ely's "very unrealistic analysis"



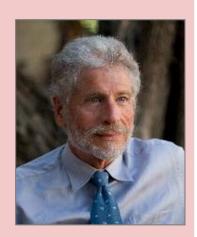
David Ely

A single vote cast in a districted system *would be very different* from 3 or 4 votes cast in an at-large system.

There is *no way to know who would have won* an election if it were conducted using districts.



Kousser's Admission – No Idea Who Wins With Districts



Dr. Kousser

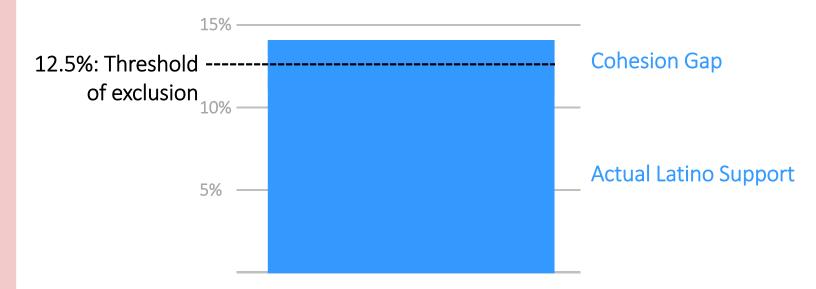
- "District elections and at-large elections have somewhat different rhythms to them and voters in those situation may have different considerations that they take into account strategically in deciding to vote."
- "There are different considerations," so how voters would vote under a district system is "uncertain."

Professor Levitt's Threshold of Exclusion is Fatally Flawed



Justin Levitt

- Suggests cumulative voting, limiting voting, and rankedchoice voting as **benchmarks** for vote-dilution analysis
- Relies entirely on the Latino CVAP exceeding the 12.5% "threshold of exclusion"
 - Reliant on 100% cohesion
 - Dr. Kousser admits **Latino cohesion is far lower** (Ex. 1206, ¶¶ 10, 57.)



Source: Ex. 1213 at p. 12

Professor Levitt's Testimony



Justin Levitt

- Few jurisdictions in the U.S. use cumulative voting, ranked-choice voting, or limited voting.
- The California Secretary of State has opined that California law does not authorize cumulative voting.
- These alternatives would require new machinery and extensive voter education.

City Wins Even Under Levitt's Threshold of Exclusion

Under the <u>current</u>
at-large system (2014-2016), Latinos were
able to elect <u>six</u>
candidates of choice
(Vazquez, Davis, Himmelrich,
O'Connor, McKeown, and O'Day)

Levitt's alternative
system potentially
increases the likelihood
of Latinos electing one
candidate of choice

Justin Levitt

If we already have <u>six</u> Latino-preferred candidates, why change?

Source: Ex. 1213 at p. 12

Legal Elements of CVRA Claim

- ✓ Racially Polarized Voting
- ✓ Vote Dilution
- ✓ Other Factors

California Election Code 14028(e)

"Other factors such as the history of discrimination, the use of electoral devices or other voting practices or procedures that may enhance the dilutive effects of at-large elections, denial of access to those processes determining which groups of candidates will receive financial or other support in a given election, the extent to which members of a protected class bear the effects of past discrimination in areas such as education, employment, and health, which hinder their ability to participate effectively in the political process, and the use of overt or subtle racial appeals in political campaigns are probative, but not necessary factors to establish a violation of Section 14027 and this section."

California Election Code 14028(e)

California Election Code 14028(e)

electoral devices or other voting practices or pracedures that may enhance th Only relevant lifetions, denial of access to those processes determining which groups candidate probative of limits on ability to participate in the electoral process

California Election Code 14028(e)

Section 14028(e) Must Demonstrate Latinos' Inability To Participate In Political Process

U.S. Supreme Court: "The essence of a § 2 claim is that a certain electoral law, practice, or structure interacts with social and historical conditions to cause an inequality in the opportunities enjoyed by black and white voters to elect their preferred candidates."

Senate Report: The "ultimate test" is "whether, in the particular situation, the practice operated to deny the minority plaintiff[s] an equal opportunity to participate and to elect candidates of their choice."



No Racially Polarized Voting: No §14028 Factors

"Only upon satisfaction of these threshold criteria should a court conduct its totality-of-the-circumstances analysis and consider other relevant factors. . . ."

"Plaintiff must first establish these preconditions before the Court will consider the [Senate Report] factors."

"Minority voters may be able to prove that they still suffer social and economic effects of past discrimination,...but they have not demonstrated a substantial inability to elect caused by the use of a multimember district."

McNeil v. Springfield Park Dist. (7th Cir. 1988) 851 F.2d 937, 942; Clark v. Holbrook Unified Sch. Dist. No. 3 of Navajo Cty. (D.Ariz. 1988) 703 F. Supp. 56, 59; Thornburg v. Gingles (1986) 478 U.S. 30, 48, fn. 15

Fair And Open Slating Processes

- Organizations have consistently endorsed Latino and Latino-preferred candidates.
- SMRR endorsed three Latino candidates in 2016 alone.





The Pico Neighborhood

- The CVRA is not a "neighborhood voting rights" statute
- The Pico Neighborhood is not and has never been majority Latino
- The Pico Neighborhood is not a proxy for all Latinos in Santa Monica
- 2/3 of Santa Monica's Latinos live outside the Pico Neighborhood

Virginia Avenue Park

- 9.5-acre park that reopened in 2005 after \$12M renovation
 - Recreational facilities
 - Recording studio
 - **Teen Center** (offers computer lab and tutoring)
 - Weekly Farmers Market
- The City also offers a full schedule of free vocational and seniors programming
 - Over 60% of program participants live in the Pico Neighborhood







Pico Neighborhood Library (Virginia Avenue Park Campus)

- Opened in **2014**
- \$11M design and construction cost
- LEED-platinum-certified, two-building, 8,960 square-foot facility
- Includes Spanish-language section



Pico Branch Library



Ribbon-cutting ceremony celebrated by Plaintiffs

Source: Ex. 1752

Ishihara Park

- New 2.4-acre park adjacent to Expo maintenance facility
- Opened in 2017
- Constructed at cost of ~\$5M
- Contains eight distinct garden spaces, including a Learning Garden where the City hosts seminars and workshops





Source: Ex. 1752

Gandara Park

- The landfill underneath the park predates residential development in the area.
- The City has carefully treated and monitored emissions for decades and complies with all applicable state and federal regulations.
- Gandara Park is a vibrant place
 that hosts events, including Cityfunded "Jazz on the Lawn"
 concerts in the summer, that are
 attended by residents from all
 corners of the City.



Sources: Exs. 1244, 1654

The City's Substantial Investments In The Pico Neighborhood (2001 to present, non-exhaustive list)

Funding to school, family and youth services	\$32,000,000
Creation of the Pico Branch Library	\$11,000,000
Renovation of Virginia Avenue Park	\$12,000,000
Pico Streetscape	\$6,000,000
Renovation of Edison Language Academy	\$5,400,000
Ishihara Park Construction and Grants to Service Providers	\$28,500,000

Total \$94,900,000

Conclusion: Section 14028(e) Factors

None of these items are probative of:

Racially Polarized Voting or Vote Dilution

Because there is neither...

Plaintiff's Claims:

- 1. California Voting Rights Act claim
- 2. Equal Protection Claim

Equal Protection Claim

Same dilution test *plus*

An exacting discriminatory intent analysis

Because plaintiffs lose on the CVRA claim, they necessarily lose on the Equal Protection claim



There Is Also No Evidence That The 1946 Charter Amendment Was Enacted For Racially Discriminatory Reasons

Arlington Heights Factors

- 1. "The **impact** of the official action," especially "whether it bears more heavily on one race than another" (but "impact alone is not determinative")
- 2. "The **historical background** of the decision, particularly if it reveals a series of official actions taken for invidious purposes"
- 3. "The specific sequence of events leading up the challenged decision"
- 4. "**Departures** from the normal procedural sequence" or "[s]ubstantive departures"
- 5. "The **legislative or administrative history** . . .especially where there are contemporary statements by members of the decision making body, minutes of its meetings, or reports"



A Brief History Of Santa Monica's Electoral System

1886: Santa Monica incorporated

1890-1897: Judge Juan José Carrillo serves as mayor

1907: City's **Charter** ratified by the Legislature. Seven-person City Council elected by **districts**.

1914: City transitions to commission form of government under an amended Charter. Three Commissioners (Public Safety, Public Works, and Finance) elected at-large beginning in 1915.

1945: Board of 15 Freeholders elected to draft new Charter.

1946: City again amends its **Charter** to move to a Council-Manager Form of government with **7 Council members elected at large**

1975: Voters **overwhelmingly** reject Proposition 3, which proposed district-based elections for Santa Monica.

1992: Charter Review Commission

2002: Voters
overwhelmingly reject
Measure HH, which
proposed district-based
elections for Santa
Monica.

1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

1914

1886: Santa Monica incorporated

1890-1897: Judge Juan José Carrillo serves as mayor

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which proposed the adoption ed elections in Santa Monica.

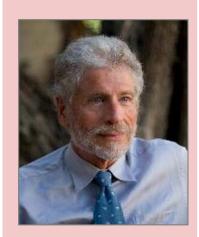
1992: Charter Review Commission

2002: Voters
overwhelmingly reject
Measure HH which
proposed the adoption
of district-based
elections in Santa
Monica.

1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

Source: Ex. 1772

1914: Dr. Kousser



Dr. Kousser

"there is **little direct evidence** one way or the other, on whether there was any racial motivation behind the initial adoption of a commission form of government, elected at-large, in 1914 in Santa Monica."

1946

1886: Santa Monica incorporated

1890-1897: Judge Juan José Carrillo serves as mayor

1907: City's first Charter ratified by the Legislature. Seven-person City Council elected by districts.

1914: City transitions to commission form of government under its second Charter. Three Commissioners (Public Safety, Public Works, and Finance) elected at-large in 1915.

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1946: City amends its Charter.

1947: Seven councilmembers elected at large

1975: Voters overwhelmingly reject
Proposition 3 which proposed the adoption of district-based elections in Santa Monica.

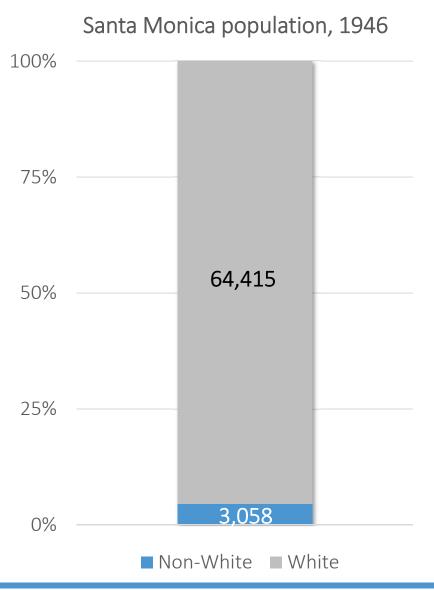
1992: Charter Review Commission

2002: Voters
overwhelmingly reject
Measure HH which
proposed the adoption
of district-based
elections in Santa
Monica.

1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

Source: Ex. 1346

Arlington Heights Factor 1 No Impact Bearing More Heavily On Particular Racial Groups



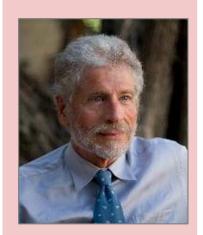
Amended Charter <u>increased</u> minority voting strength

• In 1946: White: **95.5%**

Nonwhite: 70-80% Black

- No minority group, alone or in combination with other minority groups, would have been large enough to elect candidates of its choice under a districted system.
- But the expansion of the number of seats from 3 to 7 made it mathematically easier for cohesive minority groups to elect their preferred candidates.

1946: Dr. Kousser



Dr. Kousser

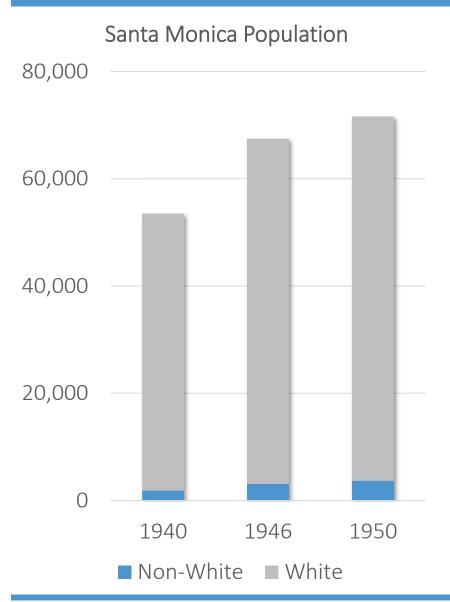
Q Do you -- do you agree that the opportunity for representation of the minority groups has increased over the present charter by the expansion of the city council from three to seven?

A Yes, increased.

Arlington Heights Factor 2 Historical Background: No Evidence Of Official Discrimination

- In other cases, experts and courts concluding that a legislative enactment may have been motivated by discriminatory intent focus on a recent history of official discrimination.
- Here, by contrast, **Dr. Kousser does not relate any history of official discrimination** in Santa Monica predating the adoption of the seven-member Council in 1946.

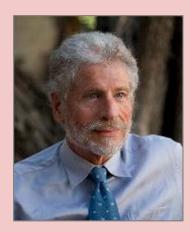
Arlington Heights Factor 3 The Specific Sequence Of Events Leading Up To The Decision: A Nonexistent Non-White Population Boom



Growth of the nonwhite population is a highly unlikely motivation for adopting new election system

- Dr. Kousser contends that the Charter amendment was motivated in large part by a desire to disenfranchise a **booming** minority population.
- But the City's nonwhite population remained tiny throughout the relevant period, growing from 3.4% in 1940 to 4.5% in 1946.
 - It is **not plausible** that a 1.1 percentagepoint increase in the minority population prompted the adoption of a new discriminatory method of election.

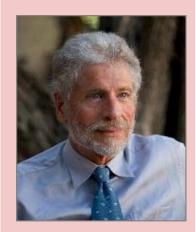
Arlington Heights Factor 4 No Evidence Of Deviations From Normal Procedures



Dr. Kousser

 Dr. Kousser notes no improprieties or deviations from standard procedure

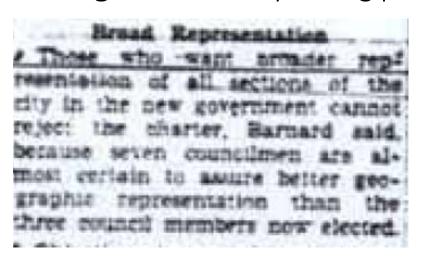
Arlington Heights Factor 5 No Legislative Or Administrative History Cited



Dr. Kousser

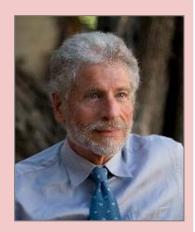
- Dr. Kousser does not cite any legislative history regarding the Board of Freeholders' decision no minutes, agendas, or reports.
- He cites almost no statements attributable to the Board. The few he does cite disprove his point.
- Board members were aware that the Charter amendment would **strengthen** minority voting power.





Santa Monica's At-Large System

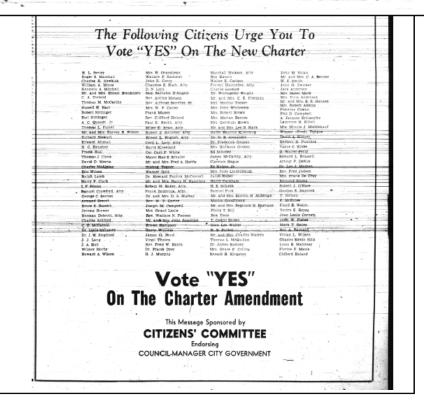
Potentially Discriminatory Attributes	Yes N	lo
Prohibition on bullet voting		
Numbered posts		
Majority vote requirement with rur	noffs	
Small number of seats		



Dr. Kousser

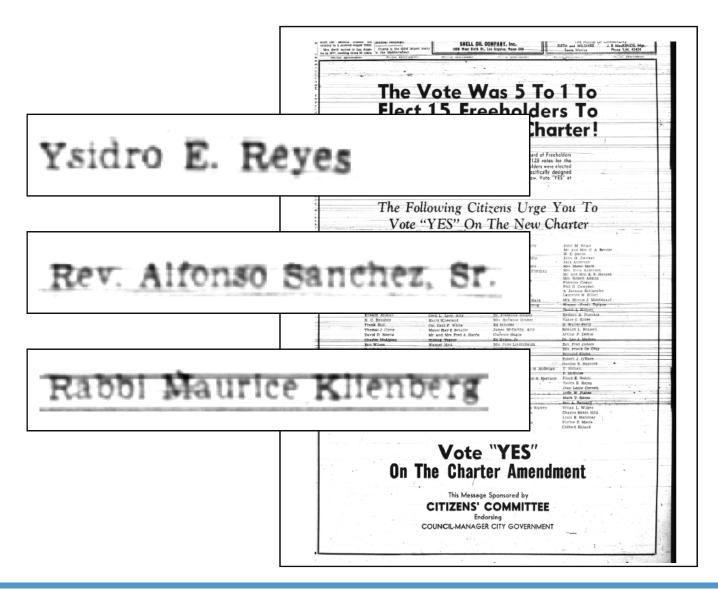


The Following Citizens Urge You To Vote "YES" On The New Charter

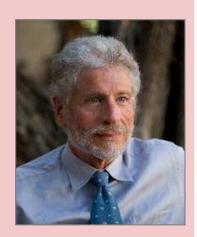




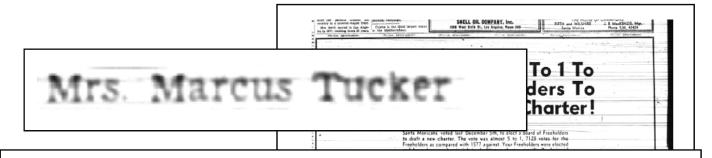
Dr. Kousser



Sources: Ex. 1206; Ex. 1816 at p. 524

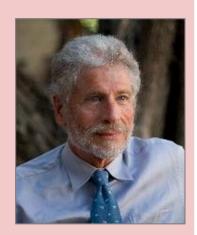


Dr. Kousser

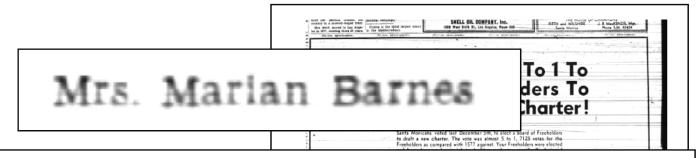


- Teacher and entrepreneur
- Her son, Marcus Jr., later became Santa Monica's Deputy City Attorney and a Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge
- SM Public Library contains the Marcus O. Tucker Collection: Black Men of Courage

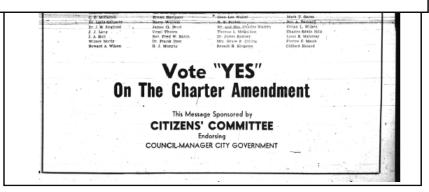
COUNCIL-MANAGER CITY GOVERNMENT

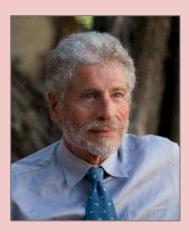


Dr. Kousser

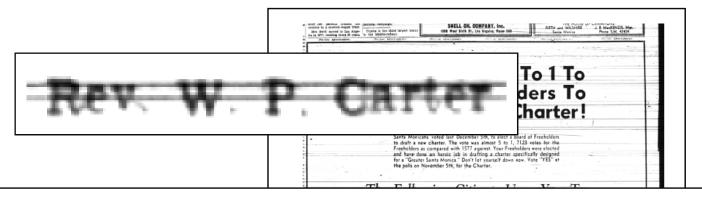


- Married to Frank H. Barnes, civil rights advocate
- Frank Barnes was the President of the Southern Area Conference of the NAACP





Dr. Kousser



- According to Dr. Kousser, Reverend Welford
 P. Carter was a "Black community leader[]."
- Rev. Carter led the **Calvary Baptist Church** in Santa Monica from the 1940s to the 1960s



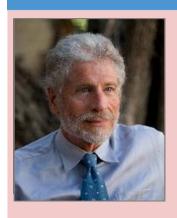
Dr. Kousser's "Smoking Gun"



any part of the charter for them..."116 "The proponents of sectionalism point to the ward system of big cities," the newspaper remarked, "but they forget that groups such as organized labor and the colored people do not have the voting power in Santa Monica that they have in New York and Chicago. Here they are minority groups. The interest of minorities is always best protected by a system which favors the election of liberal-minded persons who are not compelled to play peanut politics. Such liberal-minded persons, of high caliber, will run for office and be elected if elections are held at large."117 This admission by the most influential voice in Santa Monica that "organized labor" and "colored persons" would not be able to elect representatives of their choice in an atlarge system, but would have to be protected by "liberal-minded persons of high caliber," presumably white, is quite close to a "smoking gun."

Sources: Fx. 1206 at 64:12-65:2

Dr. Kousser's "Smoking Gun" Misfires



- The cited Outlook editorial *literally* says the opposite of what Kousser represents
- Explains why at-large elections in Santa Monica will better "protect[]" "the interest of minorities," compared with a district (ward) system
- Contrasts Santa Monica with cities like New York and Chicago, where African Americans had greater "voting power" because of larger African American populations, which is why districts work in those cities

Dr. Kousser Then (1992) v. Now (2018) on the 1946 Charter What Changed?

THEN (1992)

NOW (2018)

"It is not so much any one piece of evidence, any 'smoking gun,' that convinces me. . . ." (report cites article)

Calls that same article "quite close to a 'smoking gun'" (bold in original).

<u>Difference</u> 2018 - An expert for Plaintiffs

A Brief History Of Santa Monica's Electoral System

1890-1897: Judgo Juan José Carrillo serves as mayor

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1945: Board of 15 Freeholds: City adopts its thi

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of district-based
elections in Santa
Monica

1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

Source: Ex. 1368

Dr. Kousser Then (1992) v. Now (2018) on the 1975 Election What Changed?

THEN (1992)

"it seems **dubious** at this point that a case for discriminatory intent could be made for the 1974-75 events"

NOW (2018)

"Although in 1992, when I wrote a report for the Santa Monica charter commission, I doubted that the evidence, on balance, showed that districts were rejected in the 1975 referendum for discriminatory reasons, I have now changed my mind."

<u>Difference</u> 2018 - An expert for Plaintiffs

A Brief History Of Santa Monica's Electoral System

1886: Santa Monica incorporated

1890-1897: Judge Juan José Carrillo serves as **mayo**r

1907: City's **first Charter** ratified by the Legislature. Seven-person City Council elected by **districts**.

1914: City transitions to commission form of government under its second Charter.
Three Commissioners (Public Safety, Public Works, and Finance) elected at-large in 1915

1945: Board of 15 Freeholders elected to draft new Charter

<mark>L946:</mark> City adopts its **third Charter**.

1947: Seven councilmembers elected **at large**

1992: Charter

Review Commission

Commission

overwhelmingly reject
Measure HH which
proposed the adoption
of district-based
elections in Santa
Monica.

1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

Source: Ex. 1368

1992: City Council Action

Charter Commission Report

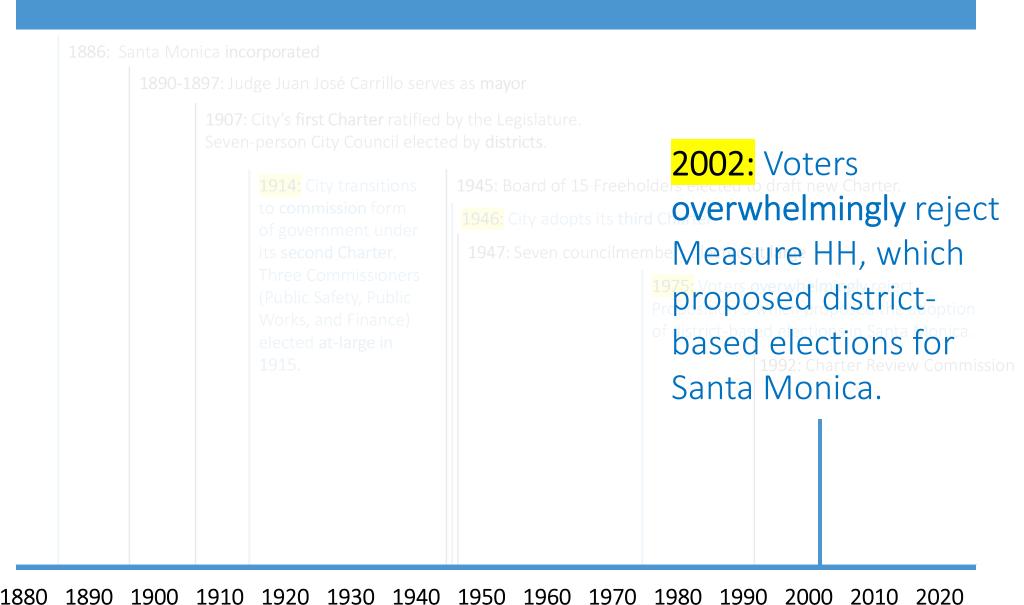
- Not enough time to complete study
- Recommends further study before Council makes any final change
- Does not recommend districts, and discusses their flaws at length

City Council Meeting (July 7, 1992)

- Videotaped
- No statements indicative of any intent to discriminate
- Discussion of many of the flaws of districts cited in report
- Vote 4-3 against districts, but refers out for further information on both hybrid system and districts

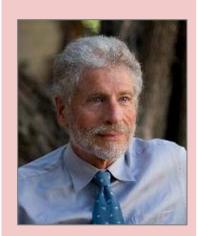
Sources: Ex. 1342; Ex. 1343

A Brief History Of Santa Monica's Electoral System



Source: Ex. 1387

2002: Santa Monica Voters Rejected District Voting Again



Dr. Kousser

- Q And in discussing Measure HH in your declaration, there is no discussion of discriminatory intent, correct?
- A That's correct.
- Q Why?
- A Because it was simply too complicated.

City's Expert Witness: Dr. Allan Lichtman



Dr. Lichtman



- Expert witness in more than 80 voting rights, civil rights, and redistricting cases typically on behalf of plaintiffs
- Analyzes Dr. Kousser's claims of discriminatory intent from 1946 through today
- Confirms: Dr. Kousser's analysis is demonstrably flawed

CVRA and Equal Protection: Why Plaintiffs Can't Win

CVRA:	Yes	No	N/A
Racially Polarized Voting			
Vote Dilution			
Other Factors			
Equal Protection:	Yes	No	N/A
Discriminatory Intent		V	
Vote Dilution (Discriminatory Impact)			

No Basis for Denying Santa Monica Voters Their Chosen Election System

- Santa Monica operates under a charter that defines its election system and is subject to change only by the voters (the City Council cannot itself make any change).
- Santa Monica's voters chose an at-large system in 1914, and overwhelmingly voted against initiatives that would have changed the system in 1975 and 2002.
- Plaintiffs must be held to their burden of presenting evidence sufficient to require a change in the election system.
- Plaintiffs cannot meet this burden.